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ABSTRACT

Some 128 sources dating from 1928 to 1968 comprise this selected bibliography of sources dealing with Mexican Americans living in parts of the Midwestern United States and with those factors most significant in migration and settlement by this population. Each source is discussed under one of the following headings: Acculturation and Assimilation, Attitudes and World Views, Demographic Analysis, Distinctive Cultural Components, Education, Employment and Income, Marriage and Family Patterns, General Discussion, Housing, Migration and Immigration, Language, Political Behavior, or Social Status. (MJB)

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MEXICAN - AMERICANS IN THE MIDWEST: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN THE MIDWEST: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

Nancy Saldaña

MEXICAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH PROJECT

Michigan State University

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	PREFACE	1
I.	INTRODUCTION	3
II.	ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION	8
III.	ATTITUDES AND WORLD VIEWS	17
IV.	DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS	22
V.	DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL COMPONENTS	24
VI.	EDUCATION	28
VII.	EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME	30
VIII.	MARRIAGE AND FAMILY PATTERNS	35
IX.	GENERAL DISCUSSION	40
X.	HOUSING	42
XI.	MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION	44
XII.	LANGUAGE	50
XIII.	POLITICAL BEHAVIOR	54
XIV.	SOCIAL STATUS	58

PREFACE

In order to highlight the work of Mrs. Saldaña, we would like to present a brief overview of the social science literature on Mexican-Americans in the Midwest.

Essentially there are six major sources, listed in chronological order:[1]

(1) Paul S. Taylor's research in the Calumet City area near Chicago in the late 1920's.

(2) Norman Humphrey's research in Detroit in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

(3) John Thaden's research on migratory sugar beet workers in Michigan in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

(4) Barbara Macklin's study in Toledo, Ohio, in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

(5) Lyle Shannon and his associates' work in Racine, Wisconsin in the same period.

(6) Julian Samora and Richard Lamanna's research in East Chicago in the mid 1960's.

Although many other sources are listed in this bibliography, I consider these works to be the most important ones. They were all conducted by competent social investigators, and, although one may criticize selected parts of them, they provide a good deal of information about this ethnic group.

Although this represents a small number of studies, it is more research than might have been expected on a group that constitutes a very small minority in almost every Midwestern city in which it is found.

Nonetheless, small minorities are of sociological interest as are large minorities, and they provide an opportunity for a microcosmic view of intergroup relations, of the transitions associated with migration and settlement, and the policy problems associated with these phenomena.

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[1]The specific titles of the works of these authors are cited within the bibliography.

Furthermore, there is every indication that migration of Mexican-Americans from South Texas to the Midwest will continue, probably in increasing numbers as long as the present differential in employment and income opportunities persists.

It is our hope that the research of the Michigan State University Mexican-American Research Project will provide additional information about this ethnic group in Midwestern cities.[2] A series of reports and articles based upon this study will be forthcoming.

The extensive bibliography prepared by the U.C.L.A. Mexican-American Study Project[3] was invaluable in the preparation of this annotation of works on the Midwest. Mrs. Saldaña has examined sources listed in the U.C.L.A. bibliography and elsewhere and her main contribution is in the summaries and commentaries she presents.

Harvey M. Choldin

Grafton D. Trout, Jr.

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[2] Harvey M. Choldin and Grafton D. Trout, Jr., "Mexican-Americans in Transition: Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities," 1969, mimeo., Final Project Report to Office of Manpower Research, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University. Harvey M. Choldin, Grafton D. Trout, Jr., and Alfred Wilson, "Mexican-Americans in Michigan: From Field to Foundry," (interim report), 1968, mimeo, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University (out of print). Laura L.Morlock, "Mexican-American Civic Leadership in a Midwestern City," 1969, mimeo, Department of Sociology, Michigan State University.

[3] Mexican-American Study Project, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, Advance Report 3: Revised Bibliography, May, 1967.

I. INTRODUCTION

This is a selected bibliography of sources dealing with Mexican-Americans living in Michigan and other parts of the Midwestern United States, and with those factors most significant in their migration and settlement there. Sources based on data from the Southwest were included, but limited to Texas, because most Northern migrants originally came from that state or lived there at one time. Such sources were included when the author felt they shed light on migration and settlement in the Midwest and on cultural traits and social problems experienced by Mexican-Americans in that part of the U.S. (The chief bibliographic source used was the bibliography completed by the Mexican-American Study Project, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, U.C.L.A.) A survey of the literature indicated that little information on Mexican-Americans in the Midwest was available outside of Shannon's voluminous study of Racine, Wisconsin. Most sources infer that what is true in Texas is true to a lesser extent in the Northern states where Mexican-Americans are less numerous, and the influence and proximity of Mexico is not as strong a cultural determinant.

Any researcher dealing with Mexican-Americans would do well to note what Fernando Peñalosa has to say:

> "...Broad generalizations...tend to blur the lines of distinction among the various social classes among Mexican-Americans. They further fail to differentiate clearly among a number of interrelated factors: the lower class, rural origins of the imigrants; the low average occupational status of Mexican-Americans at the present time; and the ways in which their present day problems are shared by the members of lower class groups, ethnic or otherwise. They further fail to take into consideration the broad rural-urban, class, occupational, educational and regional differences of the Mexican-American population. A homogeneity is

> postulated or inferred where none exists...the Mexican-American subculture in its most common variant is probably best regarded and understood as a variant of American working - lower class culture."[1]

While this statement may appear quite strong where early literature is concerned, it must be taken into consideration with regard to the present, especially where the situation is similar to that in Southern California which Penalosa describes.

Literature concerning Mexican-Americans prior to 1920 is relatively sparse because the full impact of immigration to this country was not felt until a few years before this date. Thus, for our purposes, source material can effectively be broken down into four periods starting at 1920: (1) 1920-1927; (2) 1928-1940; (3) 1941-1950; (4) 1950's-1960's.

The first period encompasses a number of articles and books describing the habits and cultural traits of Mexicans whose immigration to this country in increasing numbers reached its peak during these years. The literature deals mainly with Mexicans in the Texas labor market, conditions of Mexican immigrant life in this country. A subtle theme runs through the literature--that the influx into this country is not permanent; that when conditions are more favorable in Mexico the migrants will return.

Paul A. Taylor, a keener observer than most, studied the movement of Mexican labor to California, Illinois, and Pennsylvania during this period. He realized that the growing demand for Mexicans in the labor market would hold a great number of them here even if conditions became more favorable in their homeland.

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[1] Penalosa, Fernando, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research, 51:409-410, July 1967.

Beginning about 1928, the literature of the second period registers concern over the large number of immigrants which had flowed into the U.S. agricultural labor market. Agriculture felt the impending economic slump well before business and industry, and it seems logical that the demand for additional farm labor decreased prior to the depression. Mexican immigration had slowed down considerably by this time, but the Anglo-American population, scared by the depression, saw the great number of Mexican immigrants already in this country as a burden. The U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, published a number of bulletins between 1931 and 1933 on various aspects of Mexican labor in this country. A number of articles reflect the mounting pressure to close our doors to Mexican immigrants, and educators published articles on the difficulty of teaching Mexican children, the relative I.Q. of Mexican-American and Anglo children, and such "differentiating" characteristics as "Racial Differences in Bi-Manual Dexterity of Latin and American Children" (E. Lamb, Child Development, 1: 204-231, 1930). Anglo-American reaction to the business slump in terms of Mexican immigrants culminated in the return (both forced and voluntary) of a sizable number of these people to their homeland.

The important trends in the literature of the third period are a result of W.W.II.

> ...There was a major breakthrough during World War II of forces promoting change and the solution of problems confronting the Mexican-American community. At this time there was a great flow of people out of the barrio or Mexican-American neighborhood. Young Mexican-Americans took industrial jobs in increasing numbers, went off to war, traveled around the world, and were treated as individuals, some for the first time.... Occupational skills were upgraded because of wartime industrial experience, and because of the additional education opportunities made available to younger members of the group.[2]

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[2] Peñalosa, Fernando, op. cit., p. 410.

While this may have been the case in general, several incidents specifically turned the spotlight on Mexican-Americans and resulted in increased emotionalism and tension on both sides. The first incident occured on June 5, 6, and 7, 1943, in Los Angeles, when servicemen hunted down and beat up Mexican-American zoot suiters on the pretext of "cleaning up the town and making the streets safe." The second incident occurred in Texas. Townspeople refused to bury a Mexican-American war hero with honors in the local cemetery of his home town.

These incidents resulted in a great number of articles dealing with the problem of the minority group. Many authors attempted to describe life in the barrio so the general population might know its neighbors "across the tracks" better. Ruth Tuck's Not With the Fist is such a book, in which she writes, "In Los Angeles, out of the guilt of the dominant group, arose a fadism for the Mexican-American." Articles with titles such as "The Segregation of Mexican-American School Children in Southern California," by Henry W. Coke, and "The American Standard -- For all Americans," by Pauline Kibbe are typical of that time. Anthropologists and sociologists made the first significant attempts to analyze Mexican-American culture, not merely to describe it. Humphrey's articles on the Detroit community fall into this period as does George C. Baker's thesis "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community."

The fourth period is characterized by a "larger number of substantive publications on the subject of Mexican-Americans than any prior decade."[3] This is particularly true of work done by sociologists and

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[3] Guzman, Ralph C., "The Search for Meaning: A Bibliographical Essay," in Bibliography, Mexican-American Study Project, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, U.C.L.A., p. xxi.

and anthropologists. Examples are Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish Speaking People of the Southwest, Kluckholn and Strodtbeck, Variation in Value Orientation, Julian Samora, La Raza: Forgotten Americans.

Throughout all the periods, but especially the last two, there has been literature concerned with the migrant laborer. Michigan appears in the sources most often in the 1940's in connection with migratory labor. It was in these years that the beet pickers were first brought to this state. Local conditions on the farms and health problems of the migrants were given national coverage. For example, see Carey McWilliams, "Mexican to Michigan," Common Ground, pp. 5018, Autumn, 1941 and also McWilliams' Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States, Boston, Little and Company, 1942. As one might expect, the migrant labor situation received most coverage when legislation concerning farm labor was up before Congress.

Most articles and books, and certainly theses, are problem oriented and tend to emphasize the negative aspects of Mexican-American life in this country. However, it seems to the author that the changing concerns of both the Mexican-Americans and Anglos reflected in the literature follow the pattern of other immigrant groups which came to the U.S. Certainly the proximity of Mexico has had an influence on the state of acculturation and assimilation. The effect of green carders and wet-backs has been especially important as far as employment is concerned. It is probably safe to say, however, that for most second and third generation Americans of Mexican descent, Mexico is as far away as Europe or Asia.

II. ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

A. Sources

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Yinger, J. M., and G. E. Simpson. "Integration of Americans of Mexican, Puerto-Rican, and Oriental Descent," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 304:124-127, March 1956.

B. Discussion

There are many approaches to the study of acculturation and assimilation, just as there are many definitions of the two terms. In the literature surveyed, there are essentially four approaches which prevail. The first is the social-psychological.

Theodore Graves, in "Acculturation, Access, and Alcohol in a Tri-Ethnic Community," draws his data on Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Indians from a community-wide survey of two hundred twenty-one individuals between the ages of twenty and sixty-five, stratified by sex and ethnic group. His conclusions were: (1) Acculturation is likely to have consequences for the distribution of social and psychological pressures for engaging in deviant behavior. There is a disjunction between the personal goals an individual holds and the socially provided means for their legitimate attainment. This disjunction is a typical, but not necessary consequence of acculturation. (2) Acculturation may affect the social and psychological controls which normally curb socially disruptive behavior and keep it within socially acceptable bounds. Traditional sources of authority may be weakened as a result of acculturation and new sources may arise. Both types should be paralleled by changes in internalized controls and inhibitions. (p. 318-319) [1]

One of the most frequently used indices of acculturation-assimilation is social mobility. Fernando Peñalosa and Edward McDonagh have done a particularly good study of one-hundred-forty-seven Mexican-Americans in Pomona, California. They hypothesized that each of a number of variables

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[1] In each "Discussion" section, see preceding "Sources" section for references. This format is followed in all sections (i.e. II-XIV.)

would be positively associated with upward social mobility and negatively with downward social mobility. The former was hypothesized to be associated negatively with age and positively with high occupational status, high income, better residential area, more schooling, later generation, Protestant religious affiliation and English-language preference. Their analysis indicated that the second generation is the most upwardly mobile and measures highest on several indices of sociometric status and acculturation compared with immigrants and descendants of Spanish colonial settlers. Upwardly mobile Mexican-Americans do not shed their ethnic identification significantly, and Catholicism rather than Protestantism is found to be most associated with upward mobility. It is the shedding of lower-class culture rather than ethnicity which is most related with upward mobility. In another article (see "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California,"), Penalosa knocks the "common textbook characterization of the Mexican-American population as foreign, unskilled migratory agricultural laborers...." (p. 405) He also discusses the history of Mexican-American-Anglo relations with special references to World War II as a catalyst in breaking down former caste-type relations.

Emory Bogardus also was concerned with the problems of "Second Generation Mexicans." He judged that the problems of Mexican immigration were most acute in the second generation; delinquency was high, adjustment to school difficult. There was terrific conflict with older generation members. Then, even after a Mexican-American youth had broken with the culture of his parents and gone through school with much hardship, there was no place for him outside the accepted Mexican occupations. For in the eyes of his American neighbors he was still a "dirty greaser."

"Social Class, Assimilation and Acculturation" by Joan Moore discusses the theory of social-class mobility of ethnics. She cites Warner and Srole at one extreme as perceiving social class mobility of ethnics as destroying ethnic attachments and ultimately the whole ethnic sub-system. Milton Gordon is at the other extreme, seeing social-class mobility of ethnics as occurring without a shift in attachments.

Simirenko takes middle ground, distinguishing two types of upwardly mobile second generation individuals: (1) "colonists" -- conservatives who retain primary loyalty to the ethnic community; (2) "frontiersmen" -- the radicals who leave the community both spacially and emotionally in the process of occupational mobility (assimilated). Moore sees upward mobility as working differentially on those who leave and those who stay in the ethnic ghettoes. She predicts the existence of Mexican-American colonies for generations because ghettoes serve as receiving areas for newcomers.

Melford Spiro also gives a review of the literature on acculturation, but he brings it up through 1955 only, and relies heavily on the work done by Humphrey. The Spiro article is entitled "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups."

Humphrey gives his definitions of assimilation and acculturation in "On Assimilation and Acculturation." He also discusses the tenaciousness of Spanish versus English and says that assimilation/acculturation of Mexicans in Detroit is greater than in the Southwest and gives reasons why. However, Humphrey doesn't distinguish between Mexicans and those people of Mexican ancestry born in this country. He also holds the extreme view throughout his work that the behavior of Mexicans in Detroit is based entirely on Mexican cultural factors. He sees all Mexicans in Detroit as transplants

directly from the farm in Mexico. For example, see his explanation for the fact that recent Mexican arrivals in Detroit can be found primarily in basement apartments, in "The Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans."

Barbara Macklin takes a social-anthropological approach to the problem in the Ph.D. dissertation, "Structural Stability and Culture Change in a Mexican-American Community." Toledo, Ohio, provides the data for the study. Foci of her work were: (1) extra-town ties with kin and territory in Texas and Mexico; (2) structural ties in Toledo with kin; (3) social ties with non-Mexicans. She concludes that: (1) Extra-town ties, maintained and reinforced by repeated two-way treks to Mexico and Texas reinforce traditional cultural patterns originally brought to Toledo; (2) As the Toledoan extended families became structurally enlisted in Toledo itself, new cultural items have distinctly limited possibilities of being introduced; the few cross-cutting ties which are established with non-Mexican-descent people do not provide a channel for the introduction of new behaviors. These ties are with other groups also subcultural to the middle-majority American. Macklin found that the greatest number of migrants settled in Toledo because they ran out of funds and had to look for work. Economic security was the biggest draw, although some people mentioned less discrimination than in Texas.

The major work of Shannon, Krass, Meeks and Morgan, "The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers" is at the other extreme from the Humphrey cultural approach. It is the community study approach to assimilation/acculturation. As the authors state in the summary:

> "Although this study was oriented at its inception toward the process of value assimilation, it soon became apparent that the processes of economic absorption and cultural integration were amenable to empirical

> investigation.... In a sense this project evolved into a study of the social organization of Racine and how immigrant Mexican-Americans and Negroes were being integrated into it.... While we commenced with the idea that antecedent experiences, intervening variables, and the characteristics of individuals and groups could be related to the rate or extent to which immigrants absorbed the values of the larger community... we came to appreciate the importance of these factors as they formed experiential chains but in addition began to see the nature of the social organization of the community as a crucial determinant in understanding the extent to which the immigrants had become absorbed and integrated. Variables completely beyond the immigrants' control have probably had more to do with what has happened to them than the individual or group characteristics that have so often been hypothesized to be the determinants of absorption and integration into the larger society." (Shannon, 1966, pp. 427-428)

Shannon's many other articles are concerned with various findings in connection with this study. In his major study, Shannon hypothesizes that "certain sociological variables, as mediated by social-psychological and other sociological variables, are the determinants of the values that will be assimilated by a group of persons, or the extent to which the group will be integrated into the culture. Each of these categories is broken down into a number of variables (usually six or seven).

Victor Goldkind, in his Ph.D. dissertation, Factors in the Differential Acculturation of Mexicans in a Michigan City, (see Sources - Chapter II), conceptualizes acculturation as occuring on four dimensions--position in the occupational structure, activity in voluntary organizations, contact with Anglos, and ethnic cultural traits. He deals with 24 specific dependent variables and 30 independent variables. However, his interviewed sample population of 80 Lansing male heads of families was too small to allow simultaneous control for more than one variable. Indices were developed to represent categories of related independent and dependent variables. He found that (1) higher position in occupational structure was significantly

related to greater fluency in English, less experience in migrant stream, longer residence in the North and/or Lansing and/or less experience in agricultural work; (2) greater participation in voluntary organizations was related to physical appearance, longer experience in agricultural work and/or at first residence in the North and/or older at first residence in Lansing; (3) less contact with Anglos was related to residence variables and/or greater pre-Lansing contact with Anglos, higher occupational position, more education and/or greater fluency in English and less frequently younger age and/or less experience in agricultural work and lighter skin color; (4) use of Spanish in the family was related to low fluency in English and/or high index of Mexican residency and/or high index of a general index of residence (more time in Mexico, migrant stream, and less residence in the North). Other ethnic traits were related to length of residence in Mexico.

Yinger and Simpson discuss various barriers to acculturation in their article "Integration of Americans of Mexican, Puerto-Rican, and Oriental Descent." Actually their treatment of the subject is very general, but some good points are made. Cultural factors per se are not discussed, but the language barrier and lack of employment mobility are considered as deterrents to integration. Increasing political activism and union membership, in particular, are seen as forces working for integration. The authors take a strong stand against school segregation as it exists, and give their reasons why it works or doesn't work in various situations.

One more Master's thesis should be mentioned. That is Eunice Felter's "The Social Adaption of the Mexican Churches in the Chicago Area." This 1941 study relies heavily on Manuel Gamio's Mexican Immigration to the United States. The most interesting facts she presents are that two

different situations exist in Chicago's Mexican community: one section of the settlement is scattered, the other is not as dispersed and disorganized as the first. Assimilation and acculturation is fastest in the first.

Felter found that only 25% of the immigrants coming from Mexico were church members. Her explanation for this is that the churches of Chicago, including the Catholic Church to some extent, ignored the Mexican background of the immigrants and did not appeal to those facets of their culture which would bring them into the church. She gives as an example the Protestant emphasis on not drinking -- an important part of the social life of the Mexican male.

III. ATTITUDES AND WORLD VIEWS

A. Sources

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B. Discussion

There are essentially two categories into which attitudinal and world view studies fall. The first are those which deal with recent immigrants to the United States from Mexico and their changes in attitudes. "Attitudes and the Mexican Immigrant" by Emory Bogardus is one of the best studies. In it he discusses: (1) the attitudes of the Mexican immigrant on his arrival to the United States; (2) his attitudes after he has lived in the United States long enough to feel the impact of the new and different culture; (3) the attitudes of Anglo-Americans who have contact with the Mexican immigrants. Bogardus makes a distinction between the following types of Mexicans in this country: (a) Hispanic--those descendants of the original Spanish settlers of the Southwest; (b) Texanos--descendants of the original Texas Mexicans; (c) Mexican professionals--not considered Indian because of cultural advances, but may be of Indian descent; (d) the typical unskilled laborer. He indicates the Mexican immigrant attitude toward: labor, poverty, property, behavior problems, family, religion, recreation, citizenship, education and international problems concerning the United States and Mexico.

Anthony Dworkin, writing some years after Bogardus, also analyzes the attitudes of newly arrived immigrants. His article, "Stereotypes and Self-Images Held by Native-Born and Foreign Born Mexican-Americans," is an interesting study which may have implications for the cohort of arrival. Foreign-born and Mexican-American self-images and images of Anglos were compared. Newly-arrived foreign-born had more positive self-images and more positive images of Anglos. The opposite was true of Mexican-Americans

(who were subjected longer to the problems of assimilation acculturation).

Many references are made to a study done by Kluckhohn and Strodtback entitled Variation in Value Orientation. This is a study of a Mexican-American community, one of several case studies of communities in the Colorado Plateau. Questionnaires were designed to yield value orientations of the following categories: (1) relational, (2) time, (3) man-nature, (4) activity. The Mexican-American value orientations set them apart most from other communities. This study was made over a period of 15 years, and while changes in orientation were noted, they were not radical as far as Mexican-Americans were concerned. The orientations of the Mexican-Americans in this community may be characterized as individualistic, present in time orientation, subjected to nature, and activity oriented to being rather than doing.

Celia Heller discusses and describes Kluckhohn and Strodtback's study in Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads. She also gives a brief but good summary of Gamio's findings with a comparison between 1930 and 1960 data. Most major sources are mentioned and brought into the book. No particular mention is made of Michigan or the Midwest, but the presentation of material is good.

Margaret Mead gives a good description of the Mexican-Americans in New Mexico and Mexican-Americans from other areas. Frank Nall also gives a similar description. His article, "Role Expectations: A Cross Cultural Study," compares roles in Mexican-American and Anglo society. The Mexican-American group exhibited higher incidences of particularism and of collectivity orientation toward family. This was a statistical average with much individual variation. Ethnic statuses were shown to

differentiate role orientations. This accounted for much of the variation. Results may be interpreted to show lower incidence of involvement in dominant relational patterns of the social system.

The influence of an urban environment on attitudes and world view was studied by Shannon in "The Study of Migrants as Members of Social Systems." This gives essentially the same information and uses the same data as "The Urban Adjustment of Immigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Total Family Income," "The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration among Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community," and an unpublished paper, "The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers: Characteristics of the Individual versus the Nature of the System." The conclusions of this study are that those Negroes and Mexican-Americans in Racine, Wisconsin, who have had less exposure to traditions which favor an active, change-it-yourself attitude toward the world reflect a more passive attitude toward change than do Racine Anglos. Differences based on length of residence in the community are not of uniform or great significance in Racine. Data was obtained through use of Guttman scales.

Goodman and Beman present the results of a study using children as informants in "Child's-eye Views of Life in an Urban Barrio." Interviews were made with Anglo, Negro, and thirty-four Houston barrio children. The researchers sought information on family structure and relations, the child's occupational aspirations, attitude toward school, and his view of the surrounding community. They found that, in general, family relations were stable and close-knit. The children learned respect and obedience at an early age, and fathers were remote in their relations

with the children compared to mothers and grandmothers. Their expectations were not very high, but were realistic. They viewed the world outside the barrio as distant, which it is in social terms. Education had much positive value associated with it.

IV. DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

A. Sources

Browning, Harley L., and Dale McLemore. A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas. Austin, Population Research Center, University of Texas, June 9, 1964.

Longmore, T. W. and Homer L. Hitt. "A Demographic Analysis of First and Second Generation Mexican Population of the U.S.," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 24:138-149, September 1943.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Population of Spanish Mother Tongue. Part of the Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1942.

B. Discussion

Demographic analysis of Mexican-Americans in the United States is poor. While the 1960 Census gives an analysis of Spanish-speaking people in five Southwestern States, it gives almost no information for any other region of the country, including Michigan. The reason for this is that Mexicans are classified in the "white" category "except when they are definitely Indian." This points up the difficulty of handling data concerning people of racially mixed background, many of whom are United States citizens, yet who are culturally foreign in many respects, particularly language. (See Sources - Chapter XII.) The Census Bureau has had a hard time deciding whether to classify Mexicans as "white," and while the battle has finally been won, in terms of Mexicans having the legal advantages in this country of being classified as white, the Census has obscured much valuable information by its indecisiveness and lack of clarity concerning Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the United States.

Great inaccuracies exist also in the data available on early immigration of Mexicans to this country. Manuel Gamio, as a result of his research, was very aware of discrepancies in data provided by the United States Immigration Department and the Mexican Government. The United States records of how many native-born Mexicans immigrated to this country are probably more accurate than the records of the Mexican government, due to the disrupting influence of the Revolution. On the other hand, United States data is very hazy concerning the number of Mexicans (and Mexican-Americans) who returned to Mexico after the Revolution, or who were forcefully "repatriated." Mexican figures in this case seem to be more accurate.

Besides the various Census publications, the most reliable sources of demographic data are works by Taylor and Gamio cited under Distinctive Cultural Components, Education, Employment and Income, and Migration and Immigration. "A Demographic Analysis of First and Second Generation Mexican Population of the United States," by Longmore and Hitt also is of some value. This article interprets the 1930 Census data. Browning and McLemore's A Statistical Profile of the Spanish Surname Population of Texas, is a good more up-to-date source of data for all areas of Texas. The conclusions the authors draw are interesting, particularly their discussion of assimilation and its relation to population density.

V. DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL COMPONENTS

A. Sources

Burma, John. Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1954.

Foster, George M. "The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village," American Anthropologist 63:1173-1192, 1961.

Knowlton, Clark. "Patron-Peon Pattern among the Spanish Americans of New Mexico," Social Forces, 40:21-27, October 1962.

Mintz, Sidney, and Eric R. Wolf. "An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood, (Compadrazgo)," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 6:341-386, Winter 1950.

Romano, V., Ignacio Octavio. "Donship in a Mexican-American Community in Texas," American Anthropologist, 62:966-76, 1960.

Rubel, Arthur J. Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1966.

Rubel, Arthur J. "The Mexican American Palomilla," Anthropological Linguistics, 7:92-97, April 1965.

Samora, Julian, ed. La Raza: Forgotten Americans. University of Notre-Dame Press, 1966.

Taylor, Paul S. Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region. University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1932.

B. Discussion

There are several articles which merit a separate category. While much of Mexican-American culture of the lower classes may be ascribed to the "culture of poverty" rather than to any unique characteristic of Mexican culture, there are several traits which deserve special analysis. These are the system of donship, and the type of inter-personal relations categorized as dyadic, particularly the palomilla, the compadrazgo, and the patron-peon pattern.

Romano's article on "Donship in a Mexican-American Community in Texas" is an excellent explication of donship as it exists today in Texas. He defined donship as respect between nonrelated males as expressed by social distance dictated by prescribed forms and with primary reference to social status as determined by the traditional and achieved classes of donship. The study throws much light on the behavior and personal attributes considered prestigious by Mexican-Americans. Romano sought to "delineate the importance of donship, in the expectation that it will become an indispensable component of future investigations which focus upon Mexican-American acculturation as well as those which deal with prestige systems in Latin America." Secondly, they tried to "define a baseline with respect to immigrant Mexican donship from which subsequent change may be measured." They see two basic forms of donship: traditional donship, which includes such persons as the patron, the Mexican consul, the wealthy businessman, the political don, the curandero, and very old men (no matter what their economic position is); achieved donship which depends on four basic factors: lifespan of an individual and neighbors' opinions of him, success in solving major problems of existence in the

individual's community, popular conception of successful malehood and socially defined male authority and independence.

George Foster studied peasant relationships in Tzinzuntzan, Michoacan, Mexico. In his article, "The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village," he attempts to make a structural-functional analysis of the community and suggests a model which he feels accounts for the nature of interaction between people of the same socio-economic status; between people of different status, between fellow villagers, between villagers and outsiders, and perhaps between man and supernatural beings also. This is a model of the dyadic contract--an informal or implicit, non-ritualized, non-legalized contract between two individuals.

Foster feels this model will be of help in understanding personalism, the relationship between people in which the individual distrusts the system and relies on personal ties (a distinguishing characteristic of Latin American society and the "culture of society").

Arthur Rubel discusses one type of informal, dyadic relation between age-mates--the palomilla. The palomillas ... are formed on the basis of the mutual likes and dislikes of the individual participants. There is no set of rules by which one requests membership, nor is one invited to join a palomilla. An individual who wishes to separate himself from his regular palomilla may do so at will, since there is no tangible bond between himself and the others of that assemblage. And yet, if a man chooses to continue his relationship with his palomilla after marriage, serious problems can arise. "Even after marriage the palomilla, not the new household, is properly the focus of his activities. A young man whose attachment to his

household interferes with the more manly activities with his palomilla causes serious concern to his family and to the others of his palomilla. When such a situation is feared to exist, members of the society exert pressures to pry the man from his home to the more appropriate palomilla." (p. 107)

Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf have written a classic description and analysis of compadrazgo, or ritual co-parenthood. In "An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood," they delineate the history of the custom and analyze its various forms as found in modern culture at various levels of development in relation to industrial society. The horizontal and vertical nature of the relationship is stressed as well as the development of the ritual rather than the spiritual meaning of the relationship. "In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailingly horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class)." (p. 364) Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet an accelerated rate of change.

The patron-peon pattern is discussed by Clark Knowlton in "Patron-Peon Pattern among the Spanish Americans of New Mexico." This is actually another form of dyadic relationship. Knowlton describes what he sees as a "vacuum" in political leadership in New Mexico caused by the breakdown of the patron system. Perhaps, the "gatekeeper" in the Mexican-American situation is an attempt to replace the patron with respect to job security. He may be an intermediate step between the patron and impersonal industrial society.

VI. EDUCATION

A. Sources

Brookshire, Marjorie Shepherd. The Industrial Pattern of Mexican-American Employment in Nueces County, Texas. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1954.

Demos, George D. "Attitudes of Mexican-Americans and Anglo Groups Toward Education," Journal of Social Psychology, 57:249-256, August 1962.

Gill, L. J., and B. Spilka. "Some Non-Intellectual Correlates of Academic Achievement among Mexican American Secondary School Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, 53:144-149, June 1962.

Villegas, Delica. "Partnership for Training," The Mexican-American: A New Focus on Opportunity. Testimony presented at the Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican-American Affairs, El Paso, Texas, October 26-28, 1967. Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs, Washington, D.C.

B. Discussion

The best sources on education are to be found in material discussing other aspects of Mexican-American life, particularly socio-economic status. Most articles dealing specifically with education are very narrow in scope and lack adequate socio-anthropological insight to be of much value. Lyle Shannon's The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers (See Sources - Chapter II), is the best information for the Midwest area. In the monograph, Shannon gives years of education of respondents and their spouses broken down by sex, geographical area, and size of place in which education was obtained. This data is given for Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos. Mexican-Anglo, Negro-Anglo and Mexican-Negro differences were significant at the .001 level for both males and females in sample populations for 1959 and 1960. Statistics indicate a marked association between race or ethnicity and years of education of respondents and spouses. The relationship of education to occupation and income is discussed by Shannon and Krass in "The Urban Adjustment of Immigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Total Family Income," and to some extent in the above mentioned monograph. A comparison of Mexican-American and Anglos with nine to twelve years of education clearly showed that Anglos in this category have higher family income than Mexican-Americans.

Paul S. Taylor's Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas,(See Sources - Chapter VII), gives a very detailed analysis of all aspects of Mexican-American life in this area of the United States. The statistics he gives on education are for the years prior to 1928. The conditions of segregation he describes apparently have not changed much since that time. Taylor mentions low level of education as one of the important factors in the slow assimilation of this minority group.

VII. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

A. Sources

Browning, Harley L., and S. Dale McLemore. A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas. Austin, Population Research Center, University of Texas, June 9, 1964.

Bullock, Paul. "Employment Problems of the Mexican-American," Industrial Relations, 3:37-50, May 1964.

Feldman, Herman. Racial Factors in American Industry. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931.

Goldner, Norman. "The Mexican in the Northern Urban Area: A Comparison of Two Generations," Masters Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1959.

Hiestand, Dale L. Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities. New York, Columbia University Press, 1964.

Jones, Robert C. Mexican War Workers in the United States: The Mexico-United States Manpower Recruiting Program, 1942-1944. Washington, D.C., Pan-American Union, 1945.

McWilliams, Carey. North from Mexico, the Spanish-Speaking People of the United States. New York, J.B. Lippincott Co., 1949.

Meyers, Fredric. "Employment and Relative Earnings of Spanish-Name Persons in Texas Industries," Southern Economic Journal, 19:494-507. April 1953.

Northrup, H. R. "Race Discrimination in Trade Unions: The Record and Outlook," Commentary, 2:124-131, August 1946.

Taylor, Paul S. "Employment of Mexicans in Chicago and the Calumet Region," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 25:206-207, June, 1930.

Taylor, Paul S. Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas. University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1928.

The following work was received after the completion of the general bibliographical work:

Leonard, Olen E., "Changes in the Spanish-Speaking Labor Force of Saginaw County, Michigan," Report 22, Social Science Research Center," Mississippi State University, September, 1968.

It includes data from a 1960-1961 survey with a sample of 290 cases and includes the following topics: demographic characteristics, occupations and aspirations, education, organizational participation, health, and language usage.

B. Discussion

Sources dealing with employment and income are divided into three categories: (1) social factors relating to employment and income, (2) employment and income in Texas, (3) employment and income in the Midwest.

Looking at the first category in historical perspective, we find Herman Feldman's chapter on Mexicans and Indians in Racial Factors in American Industry (1931). The author reveals attitudes of employers toward Mexicans, and discusses those factors which handicap the Mexican laborer in the United States. The latter include his slowness in learning English and his often-expressed hope to return to Mexico some day. These two factors must have been all too prominent to fellow workers during the depression, when even the best White Anglo-Saxon Protestant was having a hard time making ends meet and keeping a job. Why should some foreigner have a job when an "American" was out of work?

The next source, published in 1946, shows the ameliorating effects of World War II. There is growing concern about discriminatory practices. "Race Discrimination in Trade Unions: The Record and Outlook," by H. R. Northrup, very briefly gives the position of most of the major unions as far as discriminatory practices concerning Mexican-Americans. It is interesting to note that the U.A.W. is not listed as discriminatory. Perhaps this has something to do with the fact that Ford sought out Mexicans and trained them. The Union must have agreed to this action before it was taken, because it meant bringing Mexicans to Detroit for the first time.

The third article in this category is Paul Bullock's 1964 "Employment Problems of the Mexican-American." Bullock discusses various areas of Mexican-American assimilation or lack of it. He then looks at the employment opportunities open to Mexican-Americans, not merely in economic terms, but in socio-cultural ones. Bullock feels "...the model of a coldly rational income-maximizing worker, so familiar in economic theory, bears little resemblance to reality." (p. 39) He gives tables for "Nativity of Spanish Surname Population in five Southwestern States (1960)," and "Distribution by Sex and Occupation, Spanish Surname and "Anglo" Population (1960)."

Dale Hiestand's Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities does not include anything on Mexican-Americans, but the author gives some interesting ways of measuring the importance and influence of a minority group in a particular industry.

In the second category, Paul S. Taylor's Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas, is the earliest comprehensive source available. Taylor gives information on all aspects of Mexican labor in the area as well as other topics discussed elsewhere in the bibliography. A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas, by Browning and McLemore, gives data on income for all areas of Texas and lists types of employment. The conclusions drawn emphasize the relation of assimilation to population density. Working with data from the Texas Employment Commission, Frederic Meyers wrote "Employment and Relative Earnings of Spanish-Name Persons in Texas Industries." The only conclusion he reaches after completing his study is that Mexican-Americans are in the lowest paying jobs in Texas. He does give a breakdown of employment by industry.

By far the most important source of the third group is North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States by Carey McWilliams. Ralph Guzman, in the U.C.L.A. bibliography, describes this book as "a passionate apologia of the Mexican-American people. Nevertheless, the book has long been an important source for students of Mexican-American affairs." McWilliams devotes very little space to Mexican-Americans in the Midwest, but what he does discuss gives more of a picture of the situation than most sources. A section of his book entitled "In Midwest Industries" gives a brief history of Mexican-Americans in the Midwest and tells how many there were, where they came from, what industries they went into and how the employment picture quickly changed from 1916 to 1930. In another section, "The Northern Settlements," McWilliams gives a concise picture of life in the Midwest in contrast to the Southwest. He also discusses some aspects of assimilation.

Robert C. Jones studied government programs involving Mexican-Americans during World War II. He describes the Agricultural Labor Program, which procured laborers to pick sugar beets, and the Railroad Labor Program, which employed large numbers of Mexican immigrants. Jones' glowing picture of the way labor camps and conditions were supposed to be, according to the government, are in sad contrast to the realities which faced the workers. Jones ends up sounding like an advertisement for the programs rather than a commentator of the scene.

Paul S. Taylor published a note on "Employment of Mexicans in Chicago and the Calumet Region." This note actually contains just two

tables: (1) Number and Percentage of Mexicans Employed in Maintenance of Way work on Sixteen Railroads in the Chicago-Gary Region, 1916-1928; (2) Number and Percentage of Mexicans Employed in Fifteen Industrial Plants in the Chicago-Gary Region, 1916-1920. Both these tables give the number of Mexicans employed, the total employees and the percent Mexican. Figures in the tables were secured partly from nationality reports, and partly by identification of names on payrolls.

Goldner's Master's Thesis, "The Mexican in the Northern Urban Area: A Comparison of Two Generations," has been discussed under Employment and Income. However, it should be noted that this study offers fairly recent information on job satisfaction and aspirations of two generations of people of Mexican descent in St. Paul, Minnesota.

VIII. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY PATTERNS

A. Sources

Borah, Woodrow, and Sherburne Cook. "Marriage and Legitimacy in Mexican Culture: Mexico and California," California Law Review, 54:946-1008, May 1966.

Burma, John H. "Research Note on the Measurement of Interracial Marriage," American Journal of Sociology, 57:587-589, May 1952.

De Hoyos, Arturo and Genevieve De Hoyos. "The Amigo System and Alienation of the Wife in the Conjugal Mexican Family." Bernard Farber (ed.) Kinship and Family Organization, New York, Wiley, 1966.

Heer, David M. "The Marital Status of Second Generation Americans," American Sociological Review, 26:233-241, April 1961.

Humphrey, Norman D. "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family," American Sociological Review, 9:622-25, December 1944.

Humphrey, Norman D. "Some Marriage Problems of Detroit Mexicans," Applied Anthropology, 3:13-13, December 1943.

Johansen, Sigurd. "Family Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area," Sociology and Social Research, 28:123-31, 1943.

Jones, Robert C. "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, 53:450-53, 1948.

Locke, Harvey J., Georges Sabah and Mary Thomas. "Interfaith Marriages," Social Problems, 4:329-333, April 1957.

Solien De Gonzalez, Nancie L. "Family Organization in Five Types of Migratory Wage Labor," American Anthropologist, 63:1264-1280, 1961.

Thurston, Richard G. "Urbanization and Sociocultural Change in a Mexican-American Enclave," Ph.D. Dissertation, U.C.L.A. 1957.

B. Discussion

Family structure is perhaps the most clear-cut difference between Mexican-American culture and middle-class Anglo culture. At least it is one of the easiest to note changes in and to observe. Norman Humphrey feels that family structure and changes in that structure are a primary index of acculturation. In what is probably his best article, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family," Humphrey describes the Mexican peasant family as a patriarchy, with father at head, then mother, brother, sister. In Detroit, changes in this structure among immigrant families occur to varying degrees. The general trend is towards "democratization" of family roles. Father and brother are more or less equals and mother and sister are on the same levels. In this situation brother takes over much of the role of protector of the family, especially where sister is concerned.

"The Amigo System and Alienation of the Wife in the Conjugal Mexican Family," by De Hoyos discusses the Mexican family structure and the tension and alienation felt by the wife and caused by the demands of the Mexican male peer group (Palomilla) or Amigo system, as the authors call it. While the article does describe some of the important aspects of Mexican family structure and the peer group, the authors have not given the proper status to women in the middle class, and also have not properly described the Mexican concept of the ideal woman, which would go far to explain a wife's actions and reactions in various situations. The authors fail to note the business, and political advantage which may accrue from participation in the peer group. Nor does, the low status given marriage explain why so many Mexicans are married, or why single men live at home rather than as independent bachelors.

Richard Thurston chose "Urbanization and Sociocultural Change in a Mexican-American Enclave" as the title for his Ph.D. dissertation. His study focuses on family structure. He found that family solidarity increases in an urban setting. He cites as an example the choosing of relatives as compadres. (cf. Simmons' discussion of the compadrazgo.) (See Sources - Chapter XIV) He characterizes the reaction of first-generation immigrants as one of protecting family structure by tenacious conservatism. The second generation attempts change by attacking the defenses of the first. In the younger generation, Thurston finds that the godparent system loses its security function. There is also less dominance by the father of the family.

Robert C. Jones also made the family the subject of his article, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States." He gives a very concentrated summary of characterizations of the Mexican-American family pattern. He mentions that while crime and delinquency are high in Los Angeles, they are relatively low in Chicago. He considers length of residence as an important factor in explaining this condition. Probably relying on his analysis of the Chicago situation, Jones states that migration is very disruptive to family structure and, that having roomers, as many Mexican-American families in the Midwest do, makes family life more difficult.

Free unions are characteristic of "poverty culture" and also (or as a result) are common among Mexican-Americans. Norman Humphrey considers them a part of Mexican cultural heritage. In "Some Marriage Problems of Detroit Mexicans," he discusses this and the problems between Anglo-Mexican-American marriages in which differing role expectations occur. Humphrey, as usual, fails to differentiate between the

various classes in Mexican society, or at least to characterize the population he found in Detroit as not representing all of Mexican culture. Education and middle/upper class Mexican values mitigate these differences between role expectations. In the case of free unions, this is not so much related to cultural values as to socio-economic status.

"Marriage and Legitimacy in Mexican Culture: Mexico and California," by Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook, is an interesting study. These authors give a history of marriage customs in Mexico. They then make present-day comparisons of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans on welfare and Mexicans living in the United States. They compare type of marriage, type separation, and illegitimate births. Comparative data for these areas are also given for Mexico. Borah and Cook conclude that "examination of welfare data (for California) shows that the strong tendency to separate by method other than divorce is inherent in the situation created by the informal union and is not peculiar to either ethnic group."

Studies of census data have yielded the following articles: David Heer analyzed data from the 1950 United States Census in "The Marital Status of Second Generation Americans." He gives percentages by age group of second generation males and females from Mexico City who are unmarried. He hypothesizes that "the proportion of persons in each ethnic group who marry at an early age is related to attitudes within the group toward attainment of high socio-economic status and toward birth control." The group of Mexican descent had the lowest percent of unmarrieds in the urban white population of 1950.

John Burma studied figures on intermarriage from Los Angeles County in 1948-1957 and published his findings in "Research Note on the Measure-

ment of Interracial Marriage." He gives the statistics on intermarriage between Mexican-Filipino, Male Anglo-Mexican, Male Mexican-Anglo, Negro-Mexican, Chinese-Mexican, and Mexican-Negro, and Filipino-Mexican. There were one thousand in the sample population. About three and one-half per cent of the marriages between whites are between Anglos and Mexican-Americans. Anglo male-Mexican American female marriages make up four fifths of this total.

Locke, Sabah, and Thomas, in "Interfaith Marriages," suggest that the percent of interfaith marriage of a religious group increases as that population decreases. "... Where interfaith marriage rates differ from the expected, additional cultural factors such as social distance between groups, cohesiveness, add economic status may be related to such variations in interfaith marriage rates." (p. 333) Mexican-Americans are an example of a group where social distance and economic position are factors affecting the rate.

IX. GENERAL DISCUSSION

A. Sources

Burris, Quincy G. "Latin-Americans," Brown, Francis J., and Joseph Slabey Roucek, eds., One America. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.

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McWilliams, Carey. "The Forgotten Mexican," Brothers Under the Skin, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1944.

Madsen, William. The Mexican-American of South Texas. San Francisco, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

Marden, Charles F., and Gladys Meyer. Minorities in American Society. Second Edition. New York, American Book Company, 1962.

Saunders, Lyle. Cultural Differences and Medical Care: the Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest. New York, Russel Sage Foundation, 1954.

Tuck, Ruth. Not With the Fist. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1946.

B. Discussion

Most books and articles of any length dealing with Mexican-Americans attempt to give a general picture of Mexican culture and the problems of assimilation-acculturation faced by this minority group. Most of these accounts must be considered no more than skeletons without flesh. Ruth Tuck, in Not With the Fist, gives a somewhat impassioned, but excellent picture of Mexican-American life. She obviously attempted to influence the popular Anglo conception of the Mexican-American at the time, since her book comes soon after the Zoot Suit Riots when the Mexican-American image in this country most certainly was at its nadir.

While Cultural Differences and Medical Care: the Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest, by Lyle Saunders, is organized primarily around medical care practices, it gives a wealth of information on all aspects of Mexican-American life in the Southwest. Saunders' discussion of class differences as seen from the Mexican-American and Anglo points of view is particularly good, as are his chapter notes, which give bibliographic material on various topics covered in each chapter.

Perhaps the most concise yet comprehensive book dealing with Mexican-American culture is William Madsen's The Mexican-Americans of South Texas. As in Saunders' book, Madsen is very interested with medical practices. His sections on socio-economic levels draw rather precise limits for each level when compared with Saunders' treatment of the same thing.

Anita Edgar Jones' article, "Mexican Colonies in Chicago," cannot be called a comprehensive study of Mexican-American culture, but it is the best picture of Mexican-American life in Chicago available. Jones relied heavily on data from the Immigrant's Protective League.

X. HOUSING

A. Sources

Hughes, Elizabeth A. Living Conditions for Small-Wage Earners in Chicago, Department of Public Welfare, City of Chicago, 1925.

Humphrey, Norman D. "The Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans," Social Forces, 24:433-37, 1946.

Samora, Julian, and Richard A. Lamanna. "Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago," Mexican-American Study Project. University of California, Los Angeles, July 1967.

B. Discussion

Most sources dealing with more than very specific subjects give an indication of the type of housing occupied by Mexican-Americans. As might be expected, it is usually in the poorest section of town, over-priced, and in deteriorating condition. Several people have given this topic more than passing mention. Paul S. Taylor deals with housing in both Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region (See Sources - Chapter V), and Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas (See Sources - Chapter VII). In the latter publication, Taylor has excellent illustrations of housing for Mexicans, Negroes, and Anglos, as well as the differences in school houses used by these three groups. Samora and Lamanna give some indication of housing conditions in East Chicago in "Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago." However, this is more a series of impressions than a real study.

Three authors have given good coverage to housing in the Midwest specifically. They are Norman Humphrey, "The Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans"; Elizabeth A. Hughes, "Living Conditions for Small-Wage Earners in Chicago"; and Anita Edgar Jones, "Mexican Colonies in Chicago." Hughes and Jones write about conditions in Chicago in the late 1920's, and Hughes makes a comparison between the situation of the Negro and Mexican-American. Humphrey, writing in 1946, takes a definite position, saying that housing and household practices are an index of acculturation. He sees the poor ventilation, and lack of rugs and furniture as typical of peasant culture. He emphasizes that the living conditions of the newly immigrated Mexican-American must be viewed in terms of peasant culture, not typically American Middle-class culture. As a family assimilates, more and more "comfort" items appear. This data is not new, for the Mexican Census used an index of household items and practices to classify people in the categories of Indian and non-Indian. It should be kept in mind, when reading this article, however, that Humphrey is attacking some of the attitudes and analysis made by social case workers dealing with Mexican-Americans. Some of these social workers had nothing but contempt for the way Detroit Mexicans were living.

XI. MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

A. Sources

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Jacobs, Paul. "The Forgotten People," The Reporter, 20:13-20, January 22, 1959.

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B. Discussion

The author has divided the literature into two categories dealing with (1) immigration to the United States, and (2) migration within the United States. The first category contains primarily material concerned with the number and origin of Mexican immigrants to this country. The various causes of immigration are also included. The second category covers the distribution of immigrants within the United States, particularly in the Midwest and Michigan, and the forces which drew them to the various states.

Manuel Gamio was the Mexican anthropologist most concerned with Mexican immigration to the United States. His work has served as a basis for almost all studies of any consequence concerning Mexicans in the United States. Gamio spent some time at the University of Chicago where he influenced and worked with Robert Redfield. Unfortunately, the author did not study Gamio's Mexican Immigration to the United States or his unpublished material, so this synopsis of his work is incomplete. Also, the Library of Congress reports that Gamio's Preliminary Survey of the Antecedents and Conditions of the Mexican Immigrant Population in the United States and the Formation of a Program for a Definite and Scientific Study of the Problems is not listed in their catalog as a regular publication, although the U.C.L.A. bibliography has it listed as such. However, the work done for this study resulted in Mexican Immigration to the United States, and Robert Redfield gives a synopsis of this material in an article (see below).

Gamio gives figures from various sources in Quantitative Estimate of Sources and Distribution of Mexican Immigration into the United States. These sources include the United States Immigration Office, United States Census, Mexican Department of Migration, Mexican postal service. He gives

figures for Mexican immigration to the United States, the return of immigrants to Mexico, the distribution of immigrants in the United States, an estimate of the number of permanent immigrants, and the Mexican states of origin of the immigrants. Most interesting feature of the study is: the use of postal money order records to trace the origin of immigrants. There is a table showing the distribution of money orders sent from the United States and another showing where they were received in Mexico. There is also a graph showing the correlation between political activity and immigration to emigration from the United States.

Gamio's The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story is perhaps the most vivid portrayal of the types of people who immigrated to this country from Mexico that we have. Unlike most studies, all classes are represented, and the reader gets a clear picture of what kind of life the immigrant left and what kind of life he expected to find in the United States.

Robert Redfield wrote a synopsis of the work done by Gamio for the Social Science Research Council in the article entitled "Antecedents of Mexican Immigration to the United States." Gamio tried essentially to give the Mexican point of view of immigration to the United States. He saw the process as a useful symbiotic relationship between Mexico and the United States -- as long as migration was temporary and restricted to the Southwest, and primarily Texas. He felt that the immigrants gained positively in acculturation to American industrial society and felt that what they learned here would make them better integrated citizens in Mexico's industrial society. However, he felt that long periods of residence and movement out of the Southwest would subject the immigrants to prejudice and social stress as well as injurious climate.

Paul S. Taylor is the other major contributor in the category of Mexican immigration to this country. An American-Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas, gives a detailed history of settlement and immigration to this part of Texas. As in his other major works, Taylor discusses economic development of the region as well as labor supply, changes in occupation, wages and earnings. He also gives a picture of the social structure with many quotes expressing attitudes on both sides.

In "Note on Streams of Mexican Migration," Taylor presents a table comparing the regional origins in Mexico of groups of Mexican immigrants in three localities in the United States by percentages. The regions in the United States include the Winter Garden district of Texas, South Texas, Chicago, and Imperial Valley, California.

Taylor gives more information on Mexican migration in the United States for the year 1930, in Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics, Part 4. There are good tables, maps and visual representations of the Mexican migrant stream. The tables give the states in Mexico from which the migrants came and where they went in the United States. Taylor also gives figures on "repatriation" and where the returning Mexicans went between 1930 and 1933. Part 1 of the same volume presents data from the 1921 Mexican Census describing the population of Mexico. Other figures include those from 1928 for Mexican emmigration to this country.

Samora and Lamanna made a rather hasty study of Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago. Their data is based primarily on census material. They give a history of migration and occupation of Mexican-Americans in the area, and discuss assimilation and integration, as they term them, at some length in the conclusion.

Migrant Agricultural Labor in Ohio, by Andrews and Nagi, gives the distribution of Mexican-American migrant labor by county in Ohio, and also includes general information on housing and wages. A breakdown by county is given of crops picked.

Several sources make some mention of Michigan in studies of migrant workers in Texas. Carey McWilliams' Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States, is perhaps the best of these. There is a good general discussion of migrants in Michigan, where they came from in Texas, and how they got to other parts of the Midwest. Leonard Massey discusses factors behind migration to Michigan in his Masters thesis, "Migration of the Spanish-Speaking People of Hidalgo County." He relies most heavily on McWilliams' North from Mexico and Sanchez's statistics of "Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest." Pauline Kibbe's Latin-Americans in Texas and Henry Collins' American's Own Refugees: Our 4,000,000 Homeless Migrants are worth looking at, although they only give passing mention to Michigan.

The most detailed sources dealing with the settling of migrants in Michigan are two articles by Norman Humphrey. The first of these, "Migration and Settlement of Detroit Mexicans," gives a history of the Detroit Mexican colony, but does not give too much statistical information on where the settlers came from or their previous occupations or level of education. The second article, "Mexican Repatriation from Michigan: Public Assistance in Historical Perspective," presents the details and historical background of "repatriation" of Mexicans from the Detroit colony, and Humphrey then critically denounces the methods used to coerce these people to return or go to Mexico.

As is readily evident, these sources give nothing more than a sketchy history of migration to Michigan and a rather incomplete picture of the settling in Detroit.

XII. LANGUAGE

A. Sources

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B. Discussion

The subject of language has been discussed from three main points of view: (1) language as an indication of cultural and racial heritage, (2) language and education, (3) language and acculturation-assimilation.

The Bureau of the Census has had a difficult time identifying and classifying people of Mexican descent in this country. (See Sources - Chapter IV.) Several methods of identification have been attempted. But, as the Bureau states:

> Each of the indexes used to identify this group of persons suffers from certain limitations. The seemingly straightforward approach of collecting and tabulating data on "Mexicans" encounters the difficulty that in areas in which descendants of the Spanish-Colonial population are concentrated neither respondents nor enumerators regard persons of this type as "Mexican," and thus in such areas there was a gross undercount of this group in the 1930 Census, which is reflected in the figures for native persons.
>
> This situation is most clearly illustrated in the figures for New Mexico, the state in which the great majority of Spanish-Americans are descendants of persons living in the territory prior to its acquisition by the United States. In 1930, the number of persons born in Mexico was about 16,000; by 1940, it had decreased to about 9,000. In 1930, about 43,000 native persons classified as "Mexican" were enumerated, but in 1940 about 214,000 native persons of Spanish mother tongue. Since there was no great influx of Spanish-speaking peoples into the State during the decade, it is reasonable to assume that the figures refer to the same segment of the population, and since it is impossible that natural increase could account for a five-fold increase in number, it may be concluded that the question on mother tongue provided a more complete count of the segment of the population under consideration than did identification of "Mexicans."[5]

Lowry Nelson, in his article "Speaking of Tongues," discusses the data presented in the 1940 Census population: Mother Tongue by Nativity, Parentage, Country of Origin, and Age. His conclusions are that we are obviously not a monolingual country and assimilation of ethnic groups will be delayed unless group members learn English.

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[5] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population 1960: Persons of Spanish Surname, p. ix.

Language and education is perhaps the largest category of the three. A tremendous number of theses focus on this area directly or indirectly. The language-in-relation-to-I.Q.-ball has been batted around, as well as the benefits and-or problems created by bi-lingualism. The problems posed by language have not been adequately solved by educators in any part of the United States. As an example, witness the recent uproar of Edcouch-Elsa High School, Edcouch, Texas.

William D. Altus' article "The American-Mexican: The Survival of a Culture," deals almost exlusively with language behavior. The study is concerned with Mexican-American performance on the Wechsler I.Q. test. What cultural and linguistic analysis there was in the article was very poor.

The most useful article the author found in this category was Norman Humphrey's "Education and Language of Detroit Mexicans." Humphrey discusses the slow absorption of English by Detroit Mexican-Americans and the effect of learning English on the speaker, the conflict between English-speaking children and Spanish-speaking parents, behavior and performance in school.

George C. Barker's Ph.D. dissertation "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community," and an ensuing article of the same title and utilizing part of the same data, are the best studies of this subject. The central problem of the dissertation is: "How, if at all, may the linguistic behavior of members of the bilingual minority group be related to other aspects of their social behavior?" Barker found the following hypotheses most tenable:

> In a bilingual minority group in process of cultural change the functions originally performed by the ancestral language are divided between two or more languages, with the result that each language comes to be identified with certain specific fields of interpersonal relations.... For each individual, language takes on symbolic values which vary according to the individual's social experience.

Barker's article is based on a sample of one hundred of his dissertation population, which he feels represent a cross-section of families of Mexican descent living in Tucson. Barker sees the fields of: (a) familia or intimate, (b) informal, (c) formal, (d) Anglo-Mexican relations. The languages used in (a) are local dialect of Spanish: in (b) both English and Spanish is used as seems best; in (c) English is used because formal Spanish is not spoken at home; in (d) English is used.

Mexican-Americans who seek mobility through Anglos tend to use English; those who are Mexican community oriented use Spanish; those who reject both Anglo and Mexican ways speak Pachuco or sub-standard English; marginals to both Mexican and Anglo groups speak standard English and Spanish.

XIII. POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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B. Discussion

Political behavior is one of the areas of Mexican-American life that has been given the most attention in the literature. This is understandable since this minority group is potentially very politically powerful in Texas, New Mexico and California. Yet, this potential has very rarely been realized, and the reason for this is the main concern of most authors.

Lack of unity is the major complaint of Mexican-Americans themselves. Norman Humphrey discusses this in "The Integration of Detroit Mexican Colony." He says this disunity is evidenced in problems of local Mexican-American organizations which can never seem to get together in one unified effort except on national holidays. He feels the Mexicans are "desirous of recapturing the friendship and intimacy of the village"...but have only their societies as the sole instrument to attain these ends.

In another article "The Detroit Mexican and Naturalization," Humphrey touches on a major factor in the limited political activity of Mexican immigrants to this country. This was the slow rate of naturalization among these people. As might be expected (due to the proximity of Mexico), the lowest rate occurred in Texas, followed by California. Illiteracy was the main deterrent to becoming a citizen, but even when a Federal law was passed granting many of these illiterate Mexican immigrants automatic citizenship, they failed to participate in any political activity. Emory Bogardus mentions other factors concerned with the low rate of naturalization. In his article "The Mexican Immigrant and Segregation," Bogardus states that he feels segregation is a major factor in the situation. Prosperous Mexicans are excluded from nice

neighborhoods and have no impetus to become property-owning citizens. It is also a fact that a Mexican can secure justice from the Mexican consul more easily than in United States courts. Even if a Mexican does become a citizen, he is still a "dirty greaser," so a change in legal status has no meaning in social reality.

Humphrey, writing in 1943, says that apparently proportionately more Mexicans in Detroit take out naturalization papers than Mexicans in Texas. He attempts to explain this, in part, by saying that there is less discrimination against Mexicans in Michigan than in Texas. He also mentions a "caste" system in the South based on skin color, and describes how this affects Mexican-Americans.

While studying "Mexiquito" (Weslaco, Texas), Arthur Rubel collected data through participant observation and informal interviews during three electoral campaigns. His observations differed from those of political scientists who have analyzed Mexican-American political behavior, but they are quite similar to those of Humphrey. In Across the Tracks, p. 139 (See Sources, Chapter V), he states that political scientists:

> stress that Mexican-Americans in South Texas represent a disorganized sector of the electorate but that in time they will become more organized. My own understanding is that chicanos respond to situations of a political nature in the very same manner as they do to other kinds of demands: by attempting to exert influence on those to whom they are related by kinship (real or fictive), or by acting in concert with friends and acquaintances. Furthermore, unlike Anglo-Americans, chicanos vote for persons with whom they feel they can establish relationships amenable to personalistic instrumental activities. Finally, chicanos seem no less interested in political issues than do Anglos. They simply organize their activities in a different fashion.

Despite what appear to be factional tendencies among the Mexican-Americans, they have a number of organizations, political and non-political, which are of more than local importance. These include MAPA, LULAC, G.I. FORUM, MLP, CSA, AND PASSO. Ralph Guzman discusses these organizations in some depth in "Politics and Policies of the Mexican-American Community." He mentions in particular the influence of World War II on assimilation and politics. In her book, Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas, Sister Frances J. Woods discusses various aspects of Mexican-American leadership in San Antonio. Her most interesting analysis is that of prestige factors. She also is concerned with why radical leaders are more often followed than the more conservative "diplomatic type."

Much attention has been paid to Mexican-Americans in Texas politics. Ralph Guzman and Joan Moore discuss Mexican-American politics in Texas and California in "The Mexican-Americans; New Wind from the Southwest." This serves as a good picture of the general political situation in recent years. In Party and Factional Division in Texas, Soukup, McClesky and Holloway write that rural Mexican-Americans tend to be more conservative than urban ones, but that this is the result of physical and psychological isolation. In general, the Mexican-American tends to endorse liberal candidates. The article gives maps and statistics comparing conservative Mexican-Americans to liberal ones. They also mention that part of the voting pattern may be due to political bosses.

John Rogers, in "Poverty Behind the Cactus Curtain," describes the Anglo political power structure in Texas, and special mention is made of Crystal City and the consequences of the election of an all-Mexican-American City Council. He also talks of the successful attempts of Anglos to suppress poverty programs.

XIV. SOCIAL STATUS

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B. Discussion

The relative social position of Mexican-Americans in relation to Anglos and other groups has been evaluated by several authors. One of the first United States scholars to be concerned with this area was Emory Bogardus. In 1925 Bogardus began to use a racial distance scale (See "Measuring Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, IX: 299-308, March 1925). In 1926 as he explained in "Changes in Racial Distances," p. 55, he

> "... Obtained the reactions of 1,725 persons in different regions of the United States to a list of 'races'....These persons were selected on a roughly pro rata basis from different population regions of the nation....The sexes were about equally represented. However there was a favoring of persons between the ages of 18 and 35, of persons with at least a high school education, and of persons with skilled and professional learnings."

Twenty years later he repeated his study and published his findings in "Changes in Racial Distances." He found that "the Mexicans maintain about the same relative position in 1946 as in 1926 (29th out of 36 in 1947; 27th out of 36 in 1926). Bogardus wrote, in the same article, p. 61:

> "Many citizens of the United States simply do not know Mexican immigrants. Others in the Middle West and the Southwest know them only as peon laborers on the ranches and on the railroads or in the cities as manual laborers. Even they do not know higher class Mexicans. Very little has occurred in the last twenty years to bring out in the United States any substantial understanding of Mexican culture.

Edward McDonagh refers to Bogardus' "social distance" in his article "Status Levels of Mexicans," which appeared in Sociology and Social Research in 1949, and was included in 1957 in American Minorities, edited by Milton Barron. He designates the following status levels to Mexicans in the United States: (1) social status in the lower quartile of a group composed of Chinese, Filipinos, foreign-born whites, native-born whites, Indians,

Japanese, Jews, Mexicans, and Negroes. This designation is derived from a questionnaire given to 1,700 white university students from Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana. (2) The defining of the Mexicans as "white" affords him official legal status equal to that of the majority group. (3) Educational status is low because of many factors including poor attendance, necessity of knowing English, and family values which give relatively low value to education. (4) Economic status is low in terms of pay rates and percentage of skilled and professional workers. McDonagh considers the above a general summary of several of the important characteristics by which Mexican-Americans are judged.

Ozzie Simmons' Ph.D. dissertation, "Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans in South Texas: A Study on Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations," has provided a much relied on description of Mexican-Americans and Anglo relations in South Texas. Simmons describes what might be termed a "semi-caste" system. While the occupational status hierarchy is relatively open, and there is a fair amount of social mobility among Mexican-Americans in the town Simmons studied, personal interaction between Mexican-Americans and Anglos is restricted. Compadrazgo relations are limited with Anglos since the majority of them are Protestant, yet patron-client relations play a major role in the town studied. This means that relations with Anglos on an "equal footing" are rare, while dominant-subordinate relations are most common. Simmons describes in detail the concept of status as conceived by Anglos and Mexican-Americans, and also gives a picture of the value systems of both groups. This is somewhat unique since most authors describe only what they see as the Mexican-American value system. Very little attempt is made to relate these value systems to their respective social structures, but rather, their importance in relation to the dominant-subordinate roles of these two interacting groups is emphasized.